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ends of the main portion of the sling, and then looped on themselves through a slit near one end.

The bull-roarer and buzzer were both well known to the Gros Ventre, but seem to be only children's toys. They were both called nakaa"ta" ("making cold," a name given also to the thermometer), probably from the widespread Indian idea that the bull-roarer breeds wind. The buzzer was made of a foot-bone of a buffalo, with a sinew string on each side, by which it was twirled, and then drawn so as to hum. The Arapaho type of buzzer is the same. The Gros Ventre bull-roarer seems to differ from the Arapaho form. Fig. 26 shows one of two very similar models, both of wood. The small, well-marked head, the long taper and point, and the numerous small notches, mark a distinct form. The sinew string is of about the length of the stick handle.

WAR.

Men generally went to war on foot, carrying food and moccasins on their backs. While on the trip they did not boil meat, but roasted it. Scouts, called "wolves," were sent out ahead. When these returned, running in a zigzag course, and shouting, it was a sign that they had seen something. If they had seen lodges, they barked like wolves. While they came, the women in the party stood in a row and sang, having made a pile of buffalo-chips. The "wolves" stopped a short distance away, and the leader of the party went to them. They came with him back to the pile of buffalo-chips, where he stopped, and, facing the party, recounted coups. After this, one of the scouts came before them and reported what he had seen. Upon this, all rushed at the pile of buffalo-chips, and kicked them about. If the enemy were near, they would now take off their heavier clothing, such as their robes, and dress and paint for war.

On returning to their camp victorious, the party approached stealthily, and made a charge upon it, often shooting; and sometimes the people in the tents jumped up out of their sleep in the early morning, thinking they had been attacked. The man who had killed an enemy, the one who had struck him first (whether dead or alive), and the one who had taken his gun, were held in about the same esteem. After the return to camp, a dance was made. Drums were beaten; and the women, who were standing in a curved row, danced in a circle toward the men, who stood in a row, and back again. The women carried the new scalps on sticks. If an enemy were killed near the home camp, his feet and hands might be cut off and carried on sticks, like the scalps. During this dance the man who first

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analogous to the "green-grass" and "young-sheep" and other companies, but having an additional ceremony confined to itself. On the other hand, if the "stars" were not one of the age-companies, it is hard to see with what groups of men they competed. It is therefore not improbable that there formerly existed among the Gros Ventre a star-society, which had a ceremony of its own, and which, while based partly on age in being constituted of young men, was outside and independent of the scheme of the beman"wu, with which it had no, or only indirect, relation, and with whose working out it must in some measure have conflicted. Such a society, which would be a true society in being based on a membership determined by choice, purchase, initiation, or supernatural experience, — in other words, by selection, would be of a type of organization quite distinct from the ordinary Gros Ventre or Arapaho age-company performing in the course of its existence an entire series of tribal ceremonies, but would have abundant parallels in other ceremonial societies on the Plains and elsewhere. Its presence would therefore be readily explainable as an incipient intrusion due to the cultural influence of some other tribe, the chief objection to such an explanation being the occurrence of the star-dance also among the Arapaho, but without a known association with a special society. This suggested character of the Gros Ventre star-society and star-dance fits the facts, but is after all only hypothetical; and altogether the relation of the ceremony to the remainder of the Gros Ventre ceremonial organizations is not yet clear.

The star-dance as formerly held is said to have lasted four days and nights. There might be further subsequent dancing. At the beginning of the ceremony, the dancers went to four places at the camp-circle facing or representing the four cardinal directions, and at each place danced before the tent of a prominent man. The owner of the tent gave away property and filled a pipe for the dancers, after smoking which they proceeded to the next one. After having danced in the four places, they danced in the middle of the camp-circle. This might be in the open air, or in a lodge made of two large tents combined. The singers were four old men, who accompanied themselves on small hand drums. The dancers' wives sat behind these four old men and sang with them. The dancer's relatives at times went to them and danced with them, taking their rattles and temporarily using them. The dancers' bodies seem to have been variously decorated; but they had no distinctive regalia except rattles. These were alike in general character, being loop-shaped, and decorated with gaudy paint and attachments, but there seems to have been no attempt at making them uniform. The dancing-lodge was elliptical, with the door towards the east and a fire near the western end. The singers were at this end, and the dancers near them, in two lines, along the sides of the lodge, facing each other. In dancing

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they did not stay in one place, but at times moved about. They shook their rattles constantly. They did not sing, but uttered a pressed-out "Hah." Two atsaan (assistants or servants of the dance) attended near the door. They brought back such of the dancers as became exhausted from lack of sleep and left the ceremony. Two men who had fought and struck a mounted enemy while they themselves were mounted, rode on horseback. When they went to dance, the assistants went to them and helped them dismount. If the dancers were inactive, these two men went about among them to make them arise. If the dancers remained on the ground, they struck them with their whips. The spectators outside lifted up the bottom of the tent and looked underneath; or, as the tent was not very high (the lodge being roofless), those who were on horseback looked over it.

The Gros Ventre star-rattles consist of a tube of rawhide, an inch or less in diameter, bent on itself into a hoop three or four inches across, and attached to a stick handle half a foot or more in length. Apparently one end of the tube projects out from the hoop forming the head of the rattle, sufficiently to allow the stick to be inserted. The rawhide is painted, and ornamented with three or five bunches of feathers. The handle is wrapped with cloth, the upper end of which usually is cut into a small fringe at the base of the head of the rattle, while the lower end hangs free beyond the handle. The general outline of the rattle is similar to the Arapaho star-rattle, this having a round or kite-shaped flat head at the end of the handle. The hoop feature is, however, wanting in the Arapaho rattles, which are without a perforation. The Gros Ventre decorations of their rattles — whether feathers, cloth attachments, or painting — are usually crude and gaudy. It seems that the rattles now in use are a degenerate modern form. In the majority of cases the feathers attached are dyed: some are cut from the quill. This indicates a recent modifying influence. Many of the feathers are cut off transversely. This may or may not be an old feature. The piece shown in Fig. 31 has least of the base qualities of these rattles, and is a probable approximation to the older type.

Of some of the specimens to be seen in the Museum, descriptions are here given.

Fig. 31 (50-1783). Handle covered with red flannel, which hangs below the handle about two feet. Fringe of same at base of head, and same forms periphery of head. Rawhide of head painted blue, red on inside of loop. A string appears to have been wound around the head while the hide was fresh, and removed after the painting, leaving radiating white depressions. Head ornamented at top and sides with three bunches of four black-and-white, squarish, half-downy feathers attached by thongs. At the top there is also an eagle-feather. Handle wound with thong, forming at the end a loop to pass over the wrist. The head of this rattle was said to represent a star.

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Specimen Museum No. 50–1797 has a small rough head and a crooked handle. Handle wound with blue cotton cloth. Two strips of green cloth hang from the end of the handle. No fringe at the base of the head. Head painted yellow-green; on this, eight red spots centred with yellow and bordered with green; on the opposite side, five green spots bordered by red. Three bunches of feathers. Feathers at top, — one eagle; several smaller, dyed violet-blue and yellow, cut off or slit from quill. Two bunches at sides, yellow-dyed and chicken feathers. Places at periphery for the attachment of other bunches.

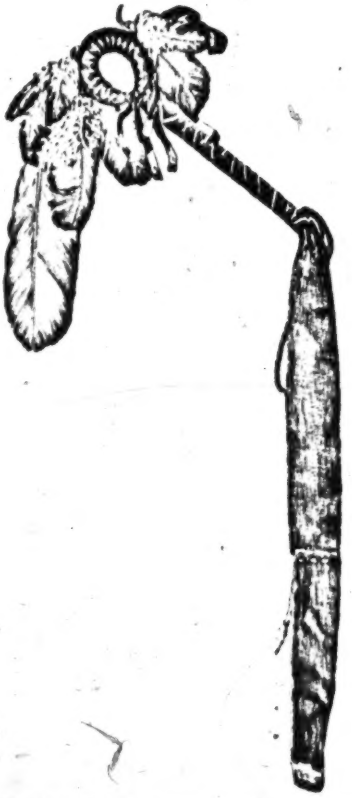

Fig. 31 (50–1783). Star-dance Rattle. Length of loop and handle, 80 cm.

Specimen Museum No. 50–1806. Handle short, scarcely six inches; head forming a large even circle nearly four inches across. Handle wrapped with blue woollen cloth, chiefly covered by the winding of a red-painted thong; free end of blue cloth more than a foot long. Fringe of three or four pieces of the same cloth at base of head. Head painted over red. Feathers attached in three places, all cut off across, and dyed violet. Two are attached at top, one on each side.

Specimen Museum No. 50–1807. Handle about six inches, head scarcely three. Rawhide covers the stick nearly to end. Two upper inches of covering exposed; below this, handle covered over rawhide with dark-blue cloth; short fringe above; fringe of several strips, about one foot long, below. All rawhide painted yellow; on each side of head, a red line; inside of hoop, about eight blue spots; periphery, blue. Feathers in five places. Top, eagle-feather, white portion reddened, yellow-green stripe on black along quill; three green-dyed cut-off feathers. At each side, below, one or two yellow-dyed cut-off feathers. On each side, still farther below, two or three similar feathers dyed green.

Specimen Museum No. 50–1808 is similar to the last in several details, and was obtained from the same person. Size a little larger than last. Extent and painting of rawhide the same. Handle completely covered with winding of red cotton cloth; no fringe above, two short ends below. At top, bunch of fifteen yellow-dyed feathers cut off very short; on each side, bunch of four (in one case, two) feathers dyed green; the upper portions of quills cut out, the vanes more complete.

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534 The large amount of individual variation within the limits of the general type characterizing these rattles occurs apparently also among the Arapaho star-rattles.

796 In the war-dance as it was held when first introduced, there were two men who had wands representing swords, and several wearing the familiar [293] belts of crow-feathers with tails falling behind and projections at the lower part of the back. As among the Arapaho, these belts are referred to the [534] crow. A drum was used, made of a cottonwood board or slab bent into a circle, covered both above and below with horse-skin, and hung on four sticks. Four drumsticks went with it, one of which belonged to the owner of the drum, the three others to three different individuals. The sides of the drum were covered, half with red cloth and half with blue, and the skin was painted half blue and half yellow. When the men who owned the swords, the crow-belts, and the drum, gave these away, which they generally did at [431] the same time, a dance was held. The new owners, in turn, by giving the objects to their successors, would furnish the occasion for another performance of the dance.

The war-dancers dressed quite variously. Some wore skunk-skin strips around the leg below the knee, beaded, and with small bells attached. Some wore similar strips around the head. Others had the well-known upright head-dress of deer-tail hair. Some carried fans of eagle-tails; some, whips; some, painted sticks with attached feathers. The dancing went on in a lodge similar to that of the star-dancers. The owner of the drum had his tent near this lodge in the middle of the camp-circle, and the members of the dance went to him to eat. If the head man of the star-dancers was popular, he was asked by the rival war-company to pitch his tent in the middle of the camp-circle, near the owner of the war-dance drum. There are said to have been no assistants in this ceremony, nor any old men as singers; but four of the wives of the dancers were selected to sing. The two men [624] with swords (kakaat) had functions similar to those of the two mounted men 626 with whips in the star-dance. They urged the laggard dancers to get up, and, if they fell down, struck them with their wands. If the man thus struck bore the blow like a man, as the Indians call it, the sword-bearer made him a present; but if he became angry he received nothing, and appears to have been looked upon with ridicule or contempt.

The war-dance as at present given is different from the form described. It is no longer a young men's dance, nor confined to a certain group. All the people of the tribe take part in it. It is very similar in general character to the present-day Arapaho crow-dance, as well as in the place it occupies in the life of the people. Among the Gros Ventre it is now the only dance held.

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796 painting, an old man took the lead, followed by the pledger, and he by the dancers in file. All the dancers carried small hoops ornamented with quill-embroidery and with small feathers. These hoops were carried on sticks. When the old man stopped, the dancers gathered in a circle about him to dance. They took hold of the corners of their robes, and flapped them like wings, buzzing and humming like mosquitoes. After they had done this four times, they lay on the ground on their faces. Beyond the small hoops there seem to have been no regalia. There were also neither whistles, rattles, nor drums used, except that the "grandfathers" each had a leafy branch (as of willow, cottonwood, or cherry), which they shook, rustling it in time to the singing.

[293] [534]

Fig. 32 (50–1839). Fly-dance Horn. Length, 18 cm.

Towards evening the dancers went to one side of the camp-circle, but still outside of it. There they danced. Going west of the camp-circle, they danced there then to the side opposite to that where they had begun, and finally to the east or opening of the camp. When they had danced four times here, all the people had retired to their tents for the night, and all outdoor work had been done. The dancers immediately started out in all directions, looking for people. If they saw any one, they pursued him until they overtook him. They carried cactus-spines and sharp claws, with which they pricked him. If he succeeded in reaching a tent, they walked around outside, pelting the tent with pebbles. It is said that if the person attacked fanned himself, as he would for flies, the dancers would not sting him. In all their actions in this part of the ceremony, the dancers seem to have imitated flies or mosquitoes. Going about among the tents, they also took meat hanging outside, cooked it, and ate their fill. They also played and ran races until they were tired.

[293]

Fig. 33 (50–1936 a). Fly-dance Hoop. Diameter, 8 cm.

[787] As to the origin of the dance, it is said that once an old man was asleep, when he dreamed this dance. The fly that gave him the ceremony was a mosquito. It directed him to institute the dance, and showed him how it should be conducted.

[293] Fig. 32 shows a small mountain-goat horn, painted over red, used in this dance as one of the implements for pricking or scratching.

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Fig. 33 shows one of the small quill-wrapped hoops carried on a stick in the fly-dance. It is about three inches across, and lacks the feathers once attached to it. The hoop is not continuous, but consists of four slightly curved sticks. Each of these is wound with yellow quills, and in the middle with black (really dark-brown) fibres. The quill-wrapping encloses a sinew strand, which passes from one stick to the other, holding them together into a flexible, somewhat four-cornered hoop. At each of the four dark marks an eagle-plume was formerly attached, and in addition an eagle-feather (specimen Museum No. 50-1936b) was hung from the hoop. This hoop was made, for the man from whom it was obtained, at the time he took part in the fly-dance. 796 293

The Crazy-Dance.

The second ceremony, the crazy-dance, corresponds pretty closely to the Arapaho crazy-dance. When it was summer, and the time came to make the ceremony in fulfilment of the pledge previously given, the different bands of the tribe gathered in a single camp-circle. Certain men, leaving this camp, then went out to select a suitable site for the dance. When they had found this, the camp started for the place, while they made piles of buffalo-chips in a circle, indicating the place for the camp. The company about to make the ceremony gathered at night, and, taking a pipe of black stone, went stealthily to the tent of an old man whom they had selected to put up the lodge (that is, direct the ceremony) for them. They entered his tent while he was sleeping, woke him, and handed him the pipe. When he signified his acceptance by taking it, they kissed him in thanks, and made him presents. After he had smoked the pipe, he told them to obtain "grandfathers," which they did. 796

When the preparations had begun to be made, crows and owls were killed by the dancers, because they used their feathers. The dancers' regalia consisted of anklets of badger-skin and of quill-embroidered leglets, to both of which four crow-feathers and buffalo-fetlocks, or antelope-hoofs, were attached as ornaments and rattles. Around the head they wore a narrow strip of skin embroidered with quill-work, to which an owl's head was tied on one side. Around their necks hung another quill-embroidered thong, at the end of which was a whistle of eagle-wing bone. A buffalo robe painted red was worn. A round hole was cut in this through which the head was put, so that the dancers did not have to hold the garment in place. The piece cut out for the head was not entirely detached, but left hanging down the back. Two long streamers of skin hung down the back [825] [292] [534]

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an enemy; and each took from among the property as nearly as possible such objects as he had actually captured in war. One who had stolen horses would take a horse; one who had taken a gun from an enemy would pick out a gun. While this was being done, or soon after, the dancers were dancing, concluding with a race similar to that in the crazy-dance. This marked the end of the ceremony. 796

There were several degrees of distinction in this dance. Two men had crooked lances wrapped with otter-skin. In four places these lances were tied about with small strips of white fur from which a pair of eagle-feathers hung. These lances were called nouçä"ts'ta". Two other lances were straight, and wrapped with jack-rabbit skin. These also bore feathers. A single dancer had a rattle of the globular shape common on the Plains. Half of the rattle was painted red, and half blue; and feathers were attached both to the top of the rattle and to the bottom of its handle. These regalia of honor were given to men renowned in war. A pipe was brought such a man, and if he thought himself entitled to the honor, and was ready to accept it, he took the pipe. If a man felt that others were really braver than himself, or had some other reason, he refused to take the pipe. One informant stated that he had declined the proffered honor because his wife's brother had recently died. The rank and file of the kit-fox dancers are said to have worn belts of prairie-dog skin. How far these corresponded with the biitaha"wu belts of the Arapaho is uncertain. The fur-wrapped crooked and straight lances are certainly similar to the crooked and straight lances indicating the second and third degrees in the Arapaho biitaha"wu. 796 554 293 [534]

Two girls took part in this ceremony. They were girls who were much thought of and beloved by their relatives. One of the dancers carried a kit-fox skin, the inside of which was painted blue. His companion had the rattle that has been described. While he rattled, the other, holding the skin by the neck and the tail, pointed it at the other dancers. These ran off, and this seems to have been the signal for the beginning of the dance. The two girls followed these two men everywhere. Their parents and relatives gave away great quantities of property in the dancing-lodge. Something similar is found in one of the Cheyenne society-dances, in which four young women accompanied the dancers from place to place. 796 857 593 [171]

Nothing was learned about the origin of the kit-fox dance, except that it is said to have been given by the kit-foxes, which is like what the Cheyenne tell of their analogous society. 796

A neck-band of badger-skin is the only object secured said to have been used in the kit-fox dance. To the end of it a tip of whitish rabbit-fur is attached. The lower part of the piece, which bears this rabbit-fur, hangs down the dancer's back. The upper portion, which is about four inches wide, is slit for a distance of a foot. Through this slit the head is inserted. [292]

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796 The feathers on this cap all have the quill split nearly as far down as the vanes extend. They are attached to one or perhaps more thongs painted 292 yellow, which form a continuous, or at least virtually continuous, expanding spiral of six or more turns from the centre of the head-dress to about one-third of the distance to the edge. This thong gathers several feathers, then passes for a short stitch through the skin of the cap, not penetrating to the under side. Thus it continues its spiral course, lying for almost its whole length on the upper surface of the cap. The feathers are all attached to it [284] in one fundamental manner, the thong passing through a loop formed by the turning-back on itself of the cut-down end of the quill. But three variations

[634]

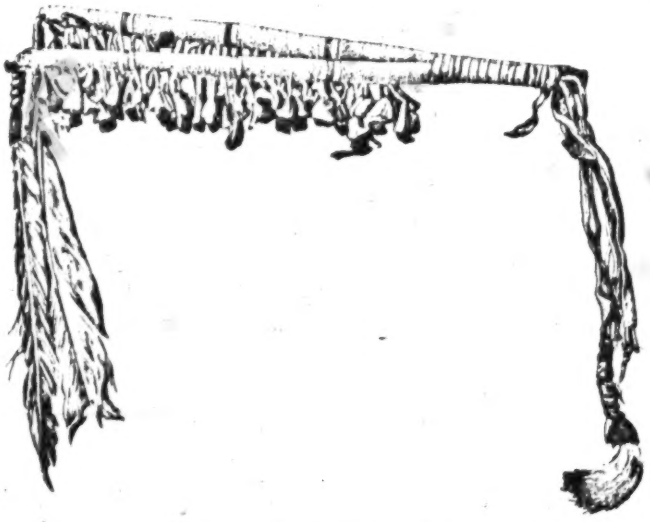

Fig. 39 (50–1789 a). Rattle of Dog-dancer, Highest Degree. Length, 47 cm.

of this method appear. Sometimes the end of the quill is turned into itself. In other cases the end is bent forward in the same way, but laid over the outside of the quill, and lashed to it with wrapping of sinew. This sinew wrapping, however, is used also with the first method, though it is not absolutely essential. In other cases the end of the quill is bent backward on itself so that its inner side is out, and fastened in the same way. When this is done, a smaller feather has its quill inserted in the sinew wrapping holding the loop of the main feather. Why the quill should be looped backward whenever a small feather is included, and only then, is not clear. The area encircled by the thong with its hundreds of feathers strung on it is only a

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small part of the surface of the cap. The feathers are long enough to extend beyond the outer edge of the skin as they fall. Two special, slightly longer wing-feathers of the same species of owl are separately attached near the top of the head-dress, on opposite sides, like horns, by thongs passing through the skin where their ends hang loose. These evidently correspond to the two eagle-feathers once mentioned as occurring on the owl-feather caps of the rank and file of the dog-dancers.

The rattle of the Gros Ventre tsôôyanehin (Fig. 39) is very similar to the Arapaho dog-dance rattles, its most prominent peculiarity being that it is

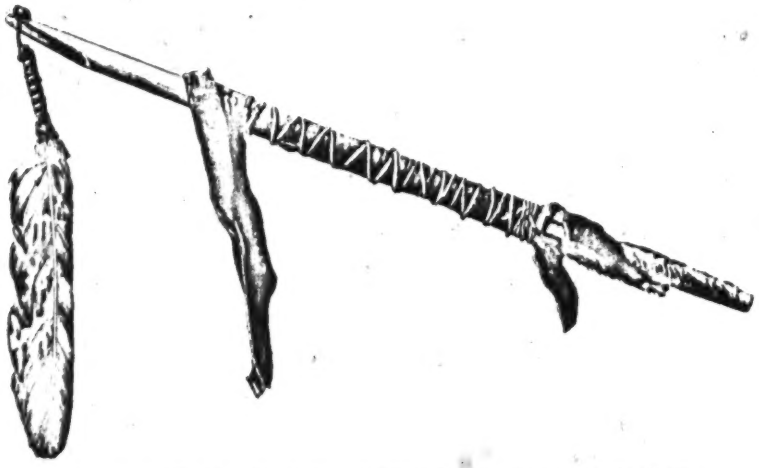

Fig. 40 (50-1789 b). Whistle of Dog-dancer, Highest Degree. Length, 60 cm.

bifurcated. Two sticks appear to have been joined at the handle so as to spread slightly. The sticks, where separate, are incased in skin painted yellow; at the handle they are wrapped together with a flat thong. Across each stick pass three stripes of quill-embroidery, each consisting of a red row of quills bordered on each side by white. At the end of each fork hangs an eagle-wing feather, the base of its quill covered with red cloth. Along the lower side of each fork are the small hoofs that rattle. There are on each stick about thirty-three pairs of these hoofs. Each pair is attached to a yellow-painted thong passing through the skin casing of the stick where this is joined in a sinew-sewn seam. The ends of these thongs pass through holes at the upper ends of the irregularly pyramidal-shaped hoofs. Inside the hoof, the end of thong is knotted around the middle of a little strip of red flannel or blanketing. This prevents the thong from being pulled out

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796 of the hoof; at the same time the two ends of the red cloth hang out of the hoof, giving a decorative effect. At the end of the handle the skin casing
● 534 of the sticks emerges from under its thong wrapping, and hangs down free about two-thirds of a foot. Part of this loose strip is cut out, so as to make of the remainder a loop to pass over the wrist. In this cut-out portion are four narrow thongs,— two wound with white quills, two with red. The end of this loop-strip is fringed and quill-wound; a deer-tail, its base covered with red cloth, hangs from it.

The whistle (Fig. 40) is of wood, in which it differs from all Arapaho bäyaⁿwu whistles, painted yellow, and two feet long. The end farthest from the mouth is cut off diagonally almost to a point. Here is hung an eagle-feather, its base covered with red cloth. Along the middle portion of the whistle are laid two strips of red cloth, held by two sinew bands and by a long doubly wound thong wrapped with white porcupine-quills. These red strips are not quite wide enough to entirely cover the whistle. The two ends of both pieces hang free. Where the cloth ends on the whistle, toward the mouthpiece, two magpie-feathers are laid along the wood, nearly to the end, their bases being held by the last wrappings of the cloth. One or more small yellowhammer-feathers are also held by these wrappings.

[822] Another dog-dance whistle secured (specimen Museum No. 50–1899) was said also to have been used by a tsööyanehi. Its only essential difference from the piece just described is that it is painted red, whereas the previous one, like all the regalia which it accompanied, was yellow. The present whistle is one-third shorter, has the yellowhammer-feathers displayed more conspicuously, has a plain instead of a quill-wound thong to hold the red cloth, lacks the red cloth at the base of its end eagle-feather, and has this feather painted over red. All these differences, except that of general color, are either insignificant or matters of proportion.

The Nanⁱⁿnahaⁿwᵘ.

796 The fifth dance is known, nearly as among the Arapaho, by the name of nanäⁿnahaⁿwᵘ. The exact meaning of this term is not known. It is generally translated "soldiers' lodge." The dancers are called nanäⁿnähäⁿts, or hiityäänäⁿsütts, which means "those who have war-sticks," the teäänäⁿsö or Arapaho teëäox. The lodge was made, as for the other dances, of the two largest tents available, in the middle of the camp-circle, with the door towards the east. The dancers obtained medicine from their "grandfathers" through their wives at night, were painted in the morning, and danced during the day, or, according to another account, at night. In the songs of this dance the buffalo were called, and it is said that the ceremony always resulted

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in the approach of the buffalo, even if previously there had been none in the vicinity of the camp. 796

The dancers carried representations of war-spikes or tomahawks, which apparently resembled the buffalo-shaped sticks of the first dance of the Arapaho. The sticks are described as being about as long as women's digging-sticks, and, like them, sharpened at one end. The other end, however, was bent. The stick was painted red, and a quill-embroidered strip of skin was wound around it as a handle. A buffalo-calf's tail and a bunch of buffalo-fetlocks, and no doubt other objects, were also attached. The stick was used as a rattle. 796 293 [534]

The conclusion of this ceremony presented a feature not found in the two preceding ones. According to one account, the gifts obtained by these dancers were received in payment from the spectators looking in at the lodge. After four days the camp broke, and followed the dancers. On reaching a place where the property had been laid on the ground, the people of the tribe stood in a long row, facing the east. One of the dancers filled a pipe, and selecting one of the poorest men in the camp offered it to him. When the old man took the pipe, the dancer prayed him to allow that all of his company should strike him (count coup on him). A bed of sage was then made for the old man in front of the assembled tribe. Along the edges of this bed, buffalo-chips were laid. The old man crouched on his hands and knees with his head toward the east, and, like the old man undergoing a similar humiliation in the crazy-dance, was covered with a buffalo robe the hair-side of which was turned out. The dancers faced him in a row and danced, rattling. After four songs they ran to the old man, and one after another struck him lightly, each placing beside him a moccasin or some other object, which the old man, on getting up, kept for himself. Then the dancers' "grandfathers" each picked up one of the buffalo-chips from the edges of the sage, and, when they had prepared them, one of the dancers squatted over each. Then his "grandfather," taking him by the shoulders, motioned with him four times, and the fourth time pushed him down. When they had all sat down, each "grandfather" spoke to his "grandson," telling him, "From now on, you need not be afraid to interrupt a sacred performance. You can talk obscenely to a chief, and no one will say anything to you." The people had been watching this performance, which marked the end of the dance. 888 796 [431]

The Bitaha^{N}w^{U}.

As stated, this dance has been abandoned a long time, and very little information was obtained regarding it. Men are alive who have seen it, 796

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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men are named, their female relatives return to their tents, and cook. When they have prepared food, they all together bring a large quantity of it to the lodge. The men selected carry weapons, and are dressed for war. They are usually mounted. Where they themselves or their horses were wounded, they paint themselves. If they have ridden over an enemy, a man is painted on the breast of the horse. When the food which has been brought by their female relatives has been eaten, these men, two at a time, go through numerous performances of their achievements in battle. This is done each day of the dance.

A group of men and women, called, like those in the preliminary singing-tent, "prairie-chickens," and therefore probably the same persons, seem to be the singers for the dance. They beat a rawhide in place of a drum, and hold branches, which, at the end of each song, they shake, shouting.

The dancers may not drink water, no matter how great the heat. If one of them is unable to endure, and a pitying relative gives him even only a drop, a thunderstorm follows, and the offender may be struck by lightning, or one of his horses may be killed by lightning. In case it seems necessary for the dancers to drink, a pipe is taken to one of the old men. If he accepts it and smokes it, he goes to the central tree. He wears a robe with the hair-side out. He has a whistle in his mouth, feathers in one hand, and a crow-skin in the other. He strikes the bill of the crow four times, with a downward motion, against the lightning symbol on the tree. A vessel is held against the tree at the bottom of the symbol, and, after the fourth blow, water is said to run out until the vessel is filled, when it stops. This water is given to the dancers, each of whom drinks a very small quantity. The actions of the man producing this water are said to be determined by his personal supernatural vision.

After the four days of the ceremony are completed, the lodge is left standing. All the cloth and clothing that have been attached to it remain in place, and it appears that other clothes, especially of children, are left at the lodge. This is done in order that the children may live a long life.

From drawings made by a Gros Ventre, it appears that the buffalo-skull is painted with spots, and has its nose and eyes stuffed. Behind it is represented a dancer holding the wheel. He is presumably the pledger of the ceremony. The wheel is bisected by two strings, and has eagle-feathers and down-feathers attached to it. The dancer blows a whistle at the end of which is a plume. The whistle hangs from his neck. At the back of the head is a plume. Lines of paint proceed from his breast to his wrists and ankles. On each of these are four diamonds, two on each upper and lower arm, thigh, and calf. If this is a correct representation, the Gros Ventre use at least one style of painting that is like the most typical Arap-

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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726 626 latter and raise his leg in imitation of a urinating dog. All would know then on whom Eater's displeasure had fallen, and the young man in question would break down and sob. That would cure him of laziness."

726 318 Among the important duties on a war party were those of the water-carrier. If the mission were to be performed under more than ordinarily dangerous circumstances, young men might volunteer for the job, but usually the leader chose someone for it. A water-carrier had to have courage and resourcefulness because in order to fetch water it might be necessary that he be sent long distances without guard, and then have to catch up with the group in case the rest had to move. When the members of the party [482 534 533] sighted the water-carrier returning successfully bearing the skin water-container attached to a pole, a song was sung by the war party as they marked time by beating two sticks together.[3]

726 Scouting was another important aspect of a war party. The leader selected two well-qualified men for this job. "They had to have courage and endurance for, while scouting, they would run instead of walk and not eat until their mission was completed." [714] Scouts were called "wolves" and wore wolf-skins as insignia and sometimes, at least, would stick brush on their heads so they could not be so easily spotted against the horizon.[3] They went to high [533] places to look around. If the enemy were not in sight, they might sing, making up words to the tune mentioned as having been sung before the party left camp.[4]

If the scouts saw indications of the enemy, such as smoke rising from a coulee, but without actually seeing the enemy sufficiently clearly to identify them, on their return to the party they gave a wolf howl as they approached and proceeded in a sharp zigzag path. If, however, they had more definite information, they gave the wolf howl and approached in a circular path; that is, advanced, turned in a circle, advanced again, turned in a circle, advanced again, turned in a circle and halted. They were then met by two older men who had been successful scouts in their day. While the [533] scouts were approaching—occasionally looking back over their

[3] Recorded as No. 130.
[3] For illustrations, see Curtis, v. 5, p. 176.
[4] Samples of this kind of song were recorded as No. 23 and No. 24.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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776 bätĕ, "he (who) has gristle (tendon from back of neck of animal) nose," and "black hawk," a certain very large black-feathered hawk known also locally as "bullet hawk" (*Buteo sp.?*). Another name for Bha'a was "old man four parts of the earth." Bha'a, the thunderbird, as was appropriate, had dark or black feathers, and was a swift flier; his bill and feet were of the same material as back tendon (see Blood-Clot Story, No. 11 in Appendix).

778 776 796 In the Gros Ventre Sacrifice Lodge, or "Sun dance," Bha'a was represented near the top of the center pole as a bird, painted black, with a buffalo tail fastened to his head as a sort of plume, with a zigzag line descending from the bird almost to the ground and ending in a fork, and with a bunch of branches stuck in the fork of the center pole of the lodge to represent Bha'a's nest. Each [302] of the dancers painted all over in white had a bird representing Bha'a, painted in black with charcoal or paint on his upper center breast, with black zigzag lines ending in a fork from the bird's wings down each arm and forearm and from the bird's feet down each thigh and leg to his ankle, with a black zigzag line forked at each end across the forehead, and with a vertical red zigzag line forked at the lower end extending down from each eye. The drum-head used in the Feathered Pipe rite had a red background [534] on which the Thunderbird was represented in blue, with a yellow zigzag line on either side from the head to the wings. Bha'a entered prominently into both the Sacrifice Lodge and the Feathered Pipe rite.

776 825 Any large strange animal might in the olden days be called Bha'a or even be looked upon as an embodiment or theophany of Bha'a.

One supposed theophany over which the present day Gros Ventres laugh heartily, is recorded on the occasion of their seeing their first mule. The story as told with verve and intense amusement by The Boy was as follows:

"The Gros Ventres used to move around a great deal. Once a mule, the first one the Gros Ventres had ever seen, got lost somehow, struck the Gros Ventres' trail, came to their camp and stopped. A Gros Ventre crier spied it and came back to camp

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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Flat Pipe. It was dried before being used for ritual purposes. In the olden days the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper had monopolistic control of it in curing. But nowadays a peppermint beverage, good for fits, spasms, and stomach disorder, is used by everybody.

The ritual number of the Flat Pipe is three, whereas that of the Feathered Pipe and the Sacred Lodges is four. Songs are sung three times, ritual gestures are in threes, and so forth. The old people when sitting around smoking socially used often to discuss the reason for this. Some held that Earthmaker sent only three animals down to dive for earth, because, for one reason at least, there were only three animals in the Flat Pipe bundle. Others held he sent four. But regardless of these opposing views on this point in the earthmaking, there was always complete agreement that the Flat Pipe ritual number itself was three, while that in the Feathered Pipe and Sacred Lodge rituals was four.

The musical instrument proper to the Flat Pipe ritual was the rattle (see Plate 1C). The drum, proper to the Feathered Pipe ritual, was not used. In the Flat Pipe ritual, the rattle was shaken clockwise in a sort of circle at breast height, whereas medicine men shook their rattles anti-clockwise and Star Dancers alternately back and forth.[1]

It may be added here that while the Flat Pipe was actually smoked only when it was being ritually transferred to a new keeper and when some individual had vowed to smoke it, and was never danced with, smoking the Feathered Pipe and dancing with it were common.

Among the more significant and more commonly recurring features shared by both the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe rituals were clockwise movements, singing, and the use of paint, buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb, and wild parsley.

Entering and leaving the keeper's lodge, ritual gestures, and so forth were consistently clockwise.

Singing bulked large in the Flat Pipe rite, and, for that matter, in nearly every phase of Gros Ventre religious and social life. As Thomas Main put it speaking for himself and The Boy: "We cannot describe how much singing means in the lives of the Gros

[1] For description of Star Dance, see Flannery, 1953, p. 42.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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covering it. When they talked to the image, they prayed for whatever they wanted, but did not mention Bha'a. Whom the image represented is not known: probably Bha'a, but this is uncertain. 778

In recent times, the last real keeper, Curly Head, had danced with the image, contrary to all the ritual rules. Curly Head is consistently reported by informants to have been very careless as well as poorly informed about the ritual and other observances connected with the Feathered Pipe keepership.

The face when exposed was apt to look different to different people on any one occasion as well as to the same person on different occasions. To one man the face seemed not to want to look at him; it "kind of turned away and sweated." To another observer, a woman, it appeared as "a rock that had two shining eyes." Al Chandler had seen the face three times. On each occasion it had a different expression: on the first it looked as if it were "smiling, sort of bashful;" on the second, "kind of sad;" on the third, "sad." On the one occasion on which his wife, Cora Chandler, had seen the face, it "seemed like it was looking away, and wouldn't look at her." 778 532

According to Al Chandler, if the face smiled, this was an omen that "everything was going to be good;" if it "looked in the opposite direction, something not good" would happen. According to Garter Snake, if when the keeper saw the face, it had paint on it, there would be plenty of food, no sickness, and so forth; if it had no paint on it, there would be sickness or other misfortune. 778 787

The whistle, of wood ("of an unknown kind of wood," according to Garter Snake), was given the first keeper from above. It was kept without wrapping in the Pipe bundle. 778 [534]

The owl in the bundle was the skin of a big owl, painted up, with few of the feathers still attached. The body was wrapped leaving the head and neck sticking out. This owl skin was apparently of modern introduction. According to Al Chandler, when a new keeper took over the Pipe, he could add to the bundle whatever he was told "by a voice" to add; Sitting High said he was told by God Himself to put that owl in the bundle. Sitting High used to talk a great deal to the owl. The owl's duty, accord-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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exceptionally chewed in contrast to the Flat Pipe peppermint. A bag, painted red all over, about a foot square, and fringed on three sides but with no beading or other decoration, now hangs with the bundle and served, Al Chandler thought, as a container for the dried sweet pine needles.

The ritual number of the Feathered Pipe, running all through the songs and ceremonies, was four, from the days of the first keeper down to most recent times.

The musical instrument used to accompany the songs was, likewise from the time of the first keeper, the drum. According to Garter Snake, the first keeper's drum was painted half black to represent black [storm] clouds and half red to represent the earth. According to Al Chandler, the present drum, about 16 inches in diameter and two inches deep, has a figure of a thunderbird painted in blue on the drumhead against a red background, to represent Bha'a, with zigzag yellow lines from either side of the head to the wings, to represent lightning. A long string is tied to the drum. The drumstick is painted red, the distal end being covered with buckskin "stuffed with something like cotton." Curly Head, when keeper, never used the drum, or even took it out of its covering in which it hung next to the bundle, but Sitting High used it regularly with the songs.[*]

According to Garter Snake, the first keeper had somebody make him a wooden bowl, which still hangs with, not in, the Pipe bundle, but we obtained no information on its type or use. She also stated that the first keeper had a "gourd rattle" or four rattles, but Al Chandler never saw any rattle kept or used with the Feathered Pipe, and no other informant mentioned such.

The Feathered Pipe, like the Flat Pipe, was smoked, in fulfillment of vows, but very rarely. More commonly, in contrast with the Flat Pipe, it was danced with, earlier only by the keeper, in recent decades by others.

General ritual features common to the Feathered Pipe and Flat Pipe,—clockwise movement, singing, the use of paint, of buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb and wild parsley,—have

[*] The drum used in the 1951 rite was apparently undecorated. See Plate 2 C. [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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Other pipes, some at least of them "Beaver" Pipes apparently, were specifically mentioned by our informants. There may be some duplications in the following listing.

The pipe owned by Roasted-in-the-coals, or Roasted-under-the-fire was called asti:θibie:tsa (meaning not obtainable). It was buried with him. It had two big rattles with it about 6 to 8 inches in diameter. After he died, these rattles were brought to Crow Bull, Coming Daylight's maternal uncle. He kept them quite a while, but, perhaps because they did not belong to the Flat Pipe which he owned or because he had had a dream about them, he decided to put them away, and had his wife Iron Woman and his niece Coming Daylight dispose of them. They were camping on the Missouri River at the time. The two women dug a kind of tunnel in the bank just big enough to hold them. Coming Daylight pitied these rattles because they were not even wrapped. So she took her robe and wrapped them in it and prayed to them: "Have pity on us. I pity you because you are not even wrapped up. I take my robe to wrap you. You are poor like orphans." And so the two women put them away.

Coming Daylight's father also was keeper of a pipe, but only for a short time as he was killed in war, not long after getting it. When her father first received this pipe, he was not grabbed without warning, as new keepers of the Flat and Feathered Pipes were. The wives of her uncle, Crow Bull, made a big lodge for her father and put this pipe on a tripod in front of it. Then Crow Bull went to his sister, Coming Daylight's mother, and said: "Go in your lodge. This lodge is yours." So her father and his two wives moved in. Her mother had children at the time and so was not co-keeper, and when the babies cried she would take them out of the lodge. Instead her father's other wife, who never had any children to Coming Daylight's knowledge, was co-keeper. The pipe's place in the big lodge was opposite the door. When Coming Daylight's father died, her mother's brother, Crow Bull, took over the pipe. This pipe, with most of the wrappings removed to lessen the weight, and wrapped in a small bundle with rawhide, lashed around near either end and with a thong handle, was taken by Crow Bull to the war called by the Gros Ventres "When

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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a circle and sang a wordless song, while "other men and women danced up and down in one place behind the old women singers." 785 796*

The vower would start his "dance" by reaching back and tearing off his shield, and in doing so, of course tearing the skin over the skewer in his back. Then with the bone whistle he carried round his neck he blew "a rapid whistle," "a sort of trill," "as if he were blowing on a flute,"—this as a sign he was ready to go through the rest of the ordeal. Then while the singers "sang hard for him," he danced with both feet, pumped up and down, and swung around, pulling and jerking and backing on the taut thongs attached to the center pole in order to tear the skewered flesh of his chest and to free himself. Sometimes the flesh would not break, or the flesh on one side of his chest would while that on the other would not. When the ordeal would go on very long, and the suffering would be extreme, and the dancer might be exhausting himself, some one of the onlookers might have pity on him and say to a bystander: "You go and tear him loose." He would then go and push and throw the "dancer" hard so the skin would break off. The Boy and Thick knew one case where the skin on one side of the "dancer's" chest would not break off even by such pushing and throwing; so they had to cut it with a knife. People thought that the darker a man's skin was the tougher it was and this last man had very dark skin. "Sometimes the dancer's skin was so tough it would stretch way out like a shirt." When a "dancer's" skin would finally break under the pulling and backing he would just fall over to the ground and the thong would spring back round the pole. Then he would be taken back and laid down and the loose skin would be trimmed off. These trimmed off pieces of skin would be gotten together by the ritual grandfathers who would take them to the buffalo skull (at the base of the center pole), hold them up, and then lay them on top of the skull, "as an offering of the very body itself." [534]

"Some 'dancers' did not have much nerve and would wince and flinch. Some didn't bat an eye." At one dance, Coming Daylight told us, one young man after the thongs were attached and pulled "just burst out crying, it was so painful. After that he went to the center pole and put his arms around it and cried there. I [152]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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Two young men attendants were chosen, but there was no police force, according to The Boy who said none was needed in the case of these "harmless" and "venerable" old men dancers. In general, The Boy had the impression that people had not cared much what these old men did in their Dance and did not go to it much, for it had "no color to it, nothing lively about it."

The dance lodge,—a "very simple little hut" according to The Boy and Thick; a "big round camp" according to Coming Daylight,—was put up outside the camp circle, toward the south thereof. The dancers carried out their rites "sort of secretly." They could be heard singing and dancing inside their lodge, but they did not go around much in public view afterwards as the women did in their Dance. The rattles used to accompany the singing were sticks about a foot or foot-and-a-half long with big buffalo calf hoofs on one end, and were very noisy. The leader's stick was larger and its butt end was pounded on the ground to keep time.

Two of the Dance songs, numbers 67 and 68, were recorded as sung by The Boy. Number 68 was sung while the old men were dancing and contains their particular yell.

The other song, number 67, has the words meaning: "You first (or leading) (buffalo) bull, come in this direction (come streaming in)." This song was a "half-prayer." The singers while singing it were wishing as hard as they could, so there would be plenty of buffalo and thus the people would not have to go far to hunt successfully. The very first original buffalo procreated other buffalo and singers wanted him to lead the other buffalo, his progeny, to the Gros Ventres. The wish-thought or "half-prayer" was directed, however, according to The Boy, not to the first buffalo, but to the Supreme Being so that the latter would provide buffalo.

The primary purpose of the Dance was pretty clearly that of bringing success in buffalo hunting. After the dance was over, the camp would move to another site, and then the people "would always run into a lot of buffalo and have good hunting luck." "Even if there were no buffalo nearby when this Dance had been going on, in some mysterious way many buffalo would come and even run around in the camp." Right after the very last time the Dance was performed, the people ran into a great many buffalo.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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just want you to join and be a little calf in this dance." "I don't smoke," Coming Daylight replied. Her grandmother then spoke up. "My grandchild, take that pipe. There isn't anything bad about it. Just take it. If you take it it might give you long life . . . and luck in receiving gifts and things. . . . We don't like to turn it down because it belongs to life. . . . This dance all comes like concerning life, and when you get painted [in it] you have a long life. . . . You are going to be asked to dance with these women. You must try to do everything well they want you to do. You must dance good." And so she accepted, for there was nothing else to do, and when she was being painted in the dance, she prayed for the things her grandmother used to tell her to pray for,—a long life and easy acquisition of food. And she concluded: "Here, I have gotten a long enough life, so long I stagger around when I try to show how they danced!"

In addition to the girl "calf" or "calves," there was also a "bull calf" (or "bull calves?"), a small boy chosen to take this part.

No men entered the ceremonial lodge during most of the dance, except two (or perhaps only one) old men singers who sat with the chief vower and the "boss" at the back of the lodge and sang. The two had no drums, but instead each of them had a deer-claw rattle, similar to the Crazy Dance rattle, but "taller and with larger trimmings." The two men and two women sang, all four together, while the other participants danced. The task of these men was solely that of singing.[39]

Two other men, younger men chosen from among the most prominent and most handsome of the Stars or Wolves, served as "hunters" of the women on the last day of the dance.

Each of the "cows" had her own headdress made like a war bonnet, but smaller, with feathers of all colors,—yellow, blue, red and so forth,—and with a bunch of feathers hanging at the nape of the neck. Coming Daylight's grandmother had belonged to the Women's Dance; when she got too old to dance herself she let her daughter-in-law use her headdress to dance with and when

[39] In 1948 The Boy said that no men sang, and that the only male participants were the two "hunters." Lame Bull acted one time in that capacity. [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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782 837 Following is The Boy's account gotten from his father, Lame Bull, and given to us in 1939, with slight additions, in parentheses, from his quite similar account given us in 1945:

"This custom disappeared when Lame Bull was a small boy [hence, about 1832-35]. He remembered it distinctly, although he had seen it only once, in his early boyhood. The crier went around saying to everybody: 'Get ready everybody, after sunrise tomorrow morning, to see who is the woman most faithful to her husband.' The custom was carried out only once in a great while. A group of older men, not real old ones but those still active, would get together and agree that the test should be carried out.

"The very first thing the next morning, the crier went around and announced: 'This is meant for *every* married couple, old and young. Put on your best clothes. Start right away.' Then two of the biggest lodges in the camp circle were put together to make a two-lodge tent. After it was put up, the crier announced: 'Everyone come from every direction to the center-lodge.' All came, dressed up, especially the unmarried young men. (The young men before the test witnessed by Lame Bull had made it up among themselves, to get up and say publicly, 'That woman is lying,' should any woman get up and dance whom they knew to be lying about her fidelity.) (They had a brush shed at the front of the double-lodge, and the flaps of the lodge were raised so that more people could fit in and look on. The women had to sit inside. The only men inside were the singers and musicians, some standing and beating drums, others seated with their hands under the elkskin in front of them.) The singers sat in a circle with a big tanned elkskin in the middle, and each singer had two human shin-bones, one in each hand, and both shin-bones were notched saw-like with a series of notches. There were several pairs of these bones. When the singing began and the drum holders beat their drums, the bone holders sawed with the bones under the elkskin. A weird noise was made by the sawing together of these bones invisible to the onlookers. [534]

"Before the singing began, one man got up and told the women what the affair was about and the procedure in it, so that they would understand: 'The men are going to sing four times. If not a single woman gets up and dances and uncovers the human bones

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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supernatural power is present would, in so far, be positive "magical" practices, or else negative ones, "taboo" proper. The great number of such observances and avoidances, treated elsewhere—are here omitted or else touched upon only summarily. We shall list first acts done, and after that acts avoided. 784 789

To bring cold or a cold wind in winter time, a bull-roarer was whirled, or a buzzer, made of a dew claw with two holes in it, on a string, was revolved. Children were not allowed to use the buzzer. Plucking a bird to bring a north wind was not known to informants. [534]

As soon as the first thunder of spring is heard, blow on any warts you have and they will come off.

The Gros Ventres, when aware someone was trying to bewitch or poison them or when they were going to visit another tribe, especially the Cree, would rub themselves with sweet pine needles and these would make them proof against witchcraft, poison, or other harm.

The shoulder-blade of an unborn buffalo-calf was hung up "so that buffalo would continue to exist."

Many acts were to be avoided lest undesirable consequences should follow.

If you touch a mole, a rash like poison ivy will result. The widespread belief among northeastern Algonquians that seeing a dead mole brings bad luck is however, lacking. If you touch a toad, you will get warts [European influence?] If a spider is killed, rain comes. [797]

Do not eat the meat of the rare albino buffalo, else your hair will turn white. Children should not eat buffalo testicle, raw or cooked, lest they wet the bed; infants not yet able to talk should not eat puppy meat, lest they be a long time learning to talk. Young women of childbearing age should not eat the two strips of flesh, called the "twins," running along the backbone [tenderloins], lest they have twins, nor the colon of buffalo, for the same reason.

Horses should never be abused: such was the caution given to the founder of the Drum Dance by the drum men leader when the latter presented him with the stallion and other horses.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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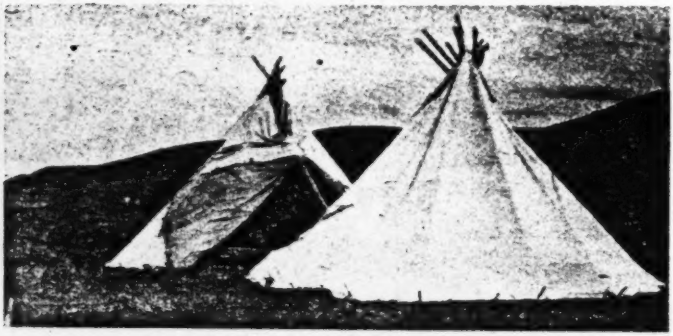

A. *Double tipi for ceremony.*

[301
782]

B. *The Boy prays with ordinary pipe.*

[516
534
778]

C. *The Boy smudges rattles over Flat Pipe hearth.*

PLATE I

[p.425]

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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of the society. The officers were free to transfer their ceremonial equipment to other members whom they would select. Following the typical Gros Ventre pattern of transfer of ownership, the recipient would present as lavish gifts as he could afford to the donor while the relatives of the recipient showed their appreciation of the favor to their kinsman by giving away expensive gifts in his honor. All of this took place publicly at the dance.

Particular dances and songs were attached to each office and the owners of the ceremonial drumsticks were required to know in correct order all the numerous songs and to provide the musical accompaniment for the whole ceremony. These four drumstick owners were joined in certain of the songs by four women singers selected from among the wives of the Wolf-men. The owners of the various objects were responsible for the proper care thereof, the crow-belts and the drum receiving most respect. When not in use, the crow-belts were kept wrapped in special bundles in the lodges of their respective owners, but were hung outside when the owner's wife was in her menstrual period. Moreover, those who danced wearing the crow-belts were obliged to refrain from sexual relations for two or three days previous to the dancing and, before donning the belts, to make a smudge of sweet-grass to incense themselves and the crow-belts. The drum, too, received special attention. One informant speaks of it as having been "nicely decorated," and we know from Kroeber's description[9] that the trimming was very similar to that of the Assiniboine Grass dance drum.[10]

Procedure. The actual dancing took place in a special circular dancing-place in the center of the camp circle. This "corral," as it was sometimes referred to, was constructed from several lodge covers, but was open at the top and the entrance thereto was at the east. The tipi of the drum-keeper was put up nearby. Opposite the opening of the "corral" was the place of honor where sat the officials,—with the exception of the sword owners, who with their assistants were at either side of the entrance. The

[9] Kroeber, loc. cit., p. 238.

[10] Lowie, R. H., The Assiniboine, AMNH-AP 4, pt. 1, 1909, p. 67.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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796 178 [688] sing a song out of the prescribed order, the "chiefs" would stop them at once, announce the mistake and what fine was to be demanded of the singers. Were the four women singers performing at that time, they too were penalized.

[534] The owners of the drumsticks cooperated with the owner of the drum whose special duty it was to care for this instrument and to have it in repair and ready for use at any time it was needed.

The concepts pertaining to the crow-belts, spoon, fork and whistle remained unchanged. The owners of these regalia treated them with the same respect as of old. Additional ceremonial equipment had been introduced in the form of four feathered war-bonnets, two of which were owned by men and two by women. There was a special little ceremony connected with the two bonnets owned by women. Early in the dance two outstanding warriors were selected to take these bonnets from their owners, dance four times around the rack where they were hung in front of their owners, and then hand them to the first two women sitting at the left of the door. When it was time to dance these women would don them and wear them throughout that dance, then pass them on to the next two, and so on, until everyone had had a chance to wear them.

796 178 624 Finally, there were two announcers, one who called out what he was directed to say by any of the men, and the other who publicized any statement to be made on behalf of the women.

All of these individuals were considered as office-holders in the Grass dance and, as formerly, each was free to transfer the office [622] to anyone he considered suitable to succeed himself. There was no regular term of office even for the "chiefs" and the transfer was described as purely voluntary. Apparently, however, there was a certain amount of consultation among the officers, when one of them decided to transfer his office, in order to agree on a well-qualified successor. Among other things it was necessary to consider the financial status of the individual, especially for those to take over the higher offices. Not only did the recipient heap property upon the donor, but according to the older pattern too, [431] the relatives of the recipient would give away horses and so on

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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others to the left forming a circle inside the dancing-place where they sat. The two prominent warriors, having been assisted in dismounting, took up their places, one on each side of the entrance, holding whips in their hands. It was their duty to rouse any lagging dancers, whipping them if necessary. Each member had his own rattle, of peculiar shape but painted with individual designs, which he waved about as he danced. The wives of some of the dancers joined the four singers in singing certain of the dance songs. Two of the youngest members acted as *atsa'an* (waiters) tending to the fire, getting water, and so on. Occasionally during the dance a woman relative of one of the participants would rush up to him, throw down a blanket or some other gift in his honor, grab his rattle and dance for a short time. Members of the other society did not join in the festivities or partake of the feast, in spite of the fact that most of the provisions for the latter had been donated by some of them.

At some future date, however, the Wolf-men would agree that the time was auspicious for them to have a dance and "get even" with the Stars. They would of course have their own songs, sung in front of the lodges of prominent members of the Star society, but otherwise the procedure was identical, including their accompaniment by two outstanding warriors, the "snake-dance," the arrangement of the lodge in the center of the camp-circle, and so on. The Wolf-men differed from the Stars in their actual dance in that they did not have rattles and in dancing seemingly intended to portray wolves, placing one hand on the forehead and the other at the back to represent the animal's tail.[14]

The adoption of the Grass dance meant merely that the more elaborate dog ritual, with its regalia and greater degree of organization, replaced the dance of the Wolf-men although the begging preliminary and so on remained the same. So far as we can see, at the time of its adoption, the Grass dance was a case of pure substitution and one that fitted readily into the cultural situation. First of all, according to Lowie's information, the Assini-

[14] I am deeply grateful to my colleague, John M. Cooper, who generously placed at my disposal his field notes on the Wolf society.